1: Bowen C-4 (1945-1947) 1951 MK2 Maritime Arabs MK2

estimate of the number of boats operating in 1946 would be as follows:

Bahrein	150
Kuwait	100
Darin, Qatif, Jubail	30
Trucial coast, Qatar, and Persian ports	250
	530

Manning these 500-odd craft were probably not over 10,000 men.

In Oman a strange balance of labor has been set up by the coincidence of the pearling season with the date harvest. Starting about June there is a migration of men northward from the Batinah Coast to the Trucial Coast; these men work the pearl fisheries. Some go north in caravans, others sail up in their *bedens* and other dhows. Opposed to the flood of men who make this temporary migration is a counter-migration of women who move southward from the Trucial Coast to the Batinah Coast; these women are hastening to the date groves for the date harvest. Often the women journey southward on the caravans which are returning from carrying the men to the Trucial Coast. Several months later, in September, the journeyers start the return home.

Bertram Thomas states that a considerable percentage of the army of men annually migrating northward to the Trucial Coast is composed of slaves.[17] These Batinah contingents are usually accompanied by a tribal agent who enlists them with some pearling *nakhoda*. The slaves are the best divers, as they have been at it from youth; freemen usually work the ropes in Oman. Slave divers are noted for their lack of fear of diving into deep water or into muddy water containing weeds. So great is the need for labor in the Trucial pearleries that boats sail into the Gulf from as far away as Socotra to join the pearl fishing.[18]

Pearl fishing is a seasonal occupation, as the divers must wait for warm summer water before starting to dive. Probably few people realize there is a winter in the Persian Gulf, and that the water gets so cold that swimming for periods of over five minutes is extremely chilling. In Hasa Province it is not uncommon

[17] Bertram Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (London, 1931), p. 258.

[18] Ibid., p. 143

1: Bowen C-4 (1945-1947) 1951 MK2 Maritime Arabs MK2

ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

228 426 Pearling is a great gamble for everyone concerned. A share may be worth only 50 or 100 rupees if the take has been poor, but on the average a share should net at least several hundred rupees. It must be remembered that a share usually represents a year's earning, since the pearling industry operates on the "debt system." This is not to be confused with the "truck system," for the workers in the Persian Gulf pearl fisheries are not paid in produce. In the debt system the divers and tenders get actual cash advances during the seasons they are out of work, and their families get food and supplies while they dive. They must pay off their incurred debts with their earnings after the pearling season, but somehow they never seem able to get free.

228 426 672 Until recently, a diver who accepted cash advances from a *nakhoda* had doomed himself to diving until death, and unfortunately death might not be an exit, as his debt was simply passed on to his son or brother, who then went on to incur his own debt. Once in debt a diver is prohibited from hiring to another *nakhoda*—he must repay his debt to the man who gave him cash advances. A diver or anyone else who accepts an advance in the pearling industry has sold himself to economic slavery, for the *nakhoda* owns his ability to work, while the man must support himself. Thus, a diver is bound to return to the purgatory of pearling at the *nakhoda's* call. Since Muslim law prohibits interest or usury the debt system effectively gets around this. The *nakhoda* is usually in turn bound to some merchant in the same way, for he has taken cash advances to give to his divers and attendants.

567 465 In Oman the *nakhodas* often hire their labor from a tribal agent, giving the agent an advance of money and rice. In the case of slaves, the agent takes this to the slaves' master; at the end of the season he collects the balance of the slaves' earnings. Thus the slaves' earnings go completely to his master, who in return clothes and feeds him.

228 656 426 On Bahrein Island the Bahrein Government has, at the suggestion of the British, effected many reforms in the pearling industry with respect to the debt system. Hereditary debts have been abolished; pearl divers on Bahrein now take their debts to

2: Villiers T-5 (1938-39) 1948 MK2 Maritime Arabs MK2
Kuwait MI1
Zanzibar FM1

K MA 439

of them Arab. I noticed in the registry office of the Customs building that some were entered as Somali, and a few were registered in the Hadhramaut. No longer did they bring down picturesque cargoes of myrrh and frankincense (if they ever did) or ship out slaves and ivory, ambergris and hippopotamus teeth. They brought salt and dried fish; and when they came, the quantities of hashish and other drugs in the town showed a significant increase. They loaded little at Zanzibar for the homeward voyage, but went on down to the coast of Tanganyika.

We completed the discharge of our outward goods at Zanzibar, and the crew busied itself for weeks selling Hadhramaut basketware and Aden haberdashery — port of origin, Yokohama. When we sailed, leaving our *nakhoda* behind, our only cargo was the parcel of condemned dates, which the Somali would not have. We passed on down to the delta of the Rufiji River, a place given up to mosquitoes, malignant malaria fever, monkeys, sad Swahili, rain, and the best mangrove poles in the world. Here we lay six weeks, while a cargo of some 142 score of poles was laboriously cut and loaded. For this work, Swahili were engaged to help our crew, and at last the bad dates found consumers. The mangrove poles were ferried out in the dhow's longboat, and paid for in silver shillings to a white supervisor. There were some twenty dhows loading in the Rufiji delta at the time, all for the Persian Gulf.

MA [164]

It struck me as strange that the dhow should spend so much time embarking a cargo in which the total investment was less than $500, for no matter how I tried to figure things out, I did not see how it could possibly be worth her while to haul such a paltry cargo so long a distance, or how she could make enough from it to show a reasonable profit on the voyage. There was certainly something mysterious about this mangrove pole business, and the white supervisor, energetic as he was, by no means knew all that went on. I noticed later, when we sold our cargo to King Ibn Saud's agents at Bahrein for use in a new palace at Riyadh, that the Arab receipt was for 295 score, and the price paid, over 4,000 rupees, approximated $1,200.

MA 505 567 2 65

There was some attempt in Zanzibar to regulate the dhow traffic, and precautions were taken to see that there was no slaving, under any guise. A local act requires that evidence be shown

2: Villiers T-5 (1938-39) 1948 MK2 Maritime Arabs MK2
MA 1
Zanzibar FM1

that any new crew members in Arab ships joined voluntarily; vessels must not be overmanned, and crew and passenger lists must be provided and in order; ships must be surveyed, and kept seaworthy; and *nakhodas* must be certificated. As for the last, the port officials conduct examinations, and the general principle seems to be that if a man is capable enough to bring a dhow down to Zanzibar, certificate or no certificate, he can also be trusted to sail her away again. But the fee for examination is fifteen shillings, and the Arabs complain about it.

We touched at Zanzibar again after loading in the Rufiji, re-embarked our *nakhoda* and took aboard a few Swahili school-teachers as passengers (they proposed to hire an automobile at Kuwait to take them to Mecca), filled the decks with coconuts and cases of soap and vermicelli, and departed toward the Persian Gulf again with the first of the broken weather at the end of the northeast season. We did not await the coming of the true southwest monsoons, for it sets in hard; we sailed direct to Muscat, in twenty-six days.

Muscat was depressed and there was no trade there, not even smuggling. All that changed hands, as far as I could see, was a box of Maria Theresa thalers, enormous Austrian coins minted in London for the Omani and available in Zanzibar at a price less than the exchange rate in Muscat. The Arabs turned everything to profit and were prepared to sell anything, even the ship. The sailors' pastime in the Rufiji was buying lemons — a thousand for a shilling — and converting them into sherbet, which they hawked in the *suq* at Kuwait throughout the summer.

Our cargo of mangrove poles sold at Bahrein, the ship returned to Kuwait, to lay up inside a coral breakwater until the new season's Iraqi dates ripened and it was time to go out again. At Kuwait, when all her people were returned — several relations of the *nakhoda* had dispersed from Zanzibar back to Lamu and Mogadishu to collect debts — a general balance sheet of the whole round voyage was struck, the profits computed carefully, and divided by a system of shares arranged traditionally. It was not a straightforward statement of income and expenditure; I never saw or heard of any piece of Arab seafaring business which was as simple as that. It was all complicated by prior advances,

4: Bowen C-5 (1950) 1951 MK2 Maritime Arabs MK?

usually try to sell their mangrove poles along the South Arabian coast. If they do not sell their poles by the time they get to Oman, they simply put them on the beach and wait until next season. Knowing that the Omanis flood South Arabian ports with poles, the Bahreinis, Kuwaitis, and Persians sail straight for the Persian Gulf and its more profitable markets. Likewise, the Omanis, realizing that the Persian Gulf markets are flooded in the early summer, wait until late summer if they have to sell their poles in the Persian Gulf. Sometimes dhows from Oman carry firewood or fish oil in addition to mangrove poles if they go north to Basra for dates.

If a vessel sells its cargo of mangrove poles a considerable distance from her home port, it may load coral rock as ballast if it is available; this may be sold in Kuwait and ports in eastern Arabia. The coral rock is pried off the sea bottom and is a common commodity for construction purposes in a land where building rock is almost as scarce as wood on the sterile sandy coast.

As we have seen above, Persian and Arab ships make two trips to India during a season, usually carrying dates on consignment, but sometimes they carry dried fish, dried fruit, palm leaf mats, and coffee from the Persian Gulf and Arabia. After they have unloaded, they pick up a cargo of the products of India for sale in their native waters. These products consist mainly of teakwood timber, teak dugout canoes, coir roping stuff, coir matting, bamboo, cotton-goods, cocoanuts, chests, chairs, spices, and tea. Cement and tiles are occasionally loaded, but bricks (a very common product of the Malabar coast) are rarely loaded, as they are manufactured in Iraq and shipped out of Basra. Virtually all the teakwood for dhow construction comes from India, and Indian teak dugout canoes have been spread up and down the shores of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea by dhows.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* tells of ships coasting on the African coast and trading cargoes as they went two thousand years ago. But cargoes have changed considerably from those ancient times when alabaster, myrrh, and frankincense were exported from South Arabia and tortoise shell, hippopotamus teeth, cinnamon, and slaves were exported from East Africa.

By 1800, slaves had become the chief cargo out of East Africa, with Zanzibar as the center; however, with European intrusion into the waters of the Indian Ocean, eventually the British more or less successfully stopped the slave trade, which was in large part carried on by the Omanis. It has been estimated that by 1873 there were thirty thousand slaves ex-

567 ported annually from East Africa to the Persian Gulf and Arabia.[24] The term 'human cargo' is no exaggeration, for slaves were packed in the holds of dhows with an eye only towards maximum capacity. There is an old sketch of a small dhow loaded with 156 slaves (men, women, and children) packed into the hold, on the bottom and on two bamboo decks above with only three feet clearance between decks (see Figure 3).[25]

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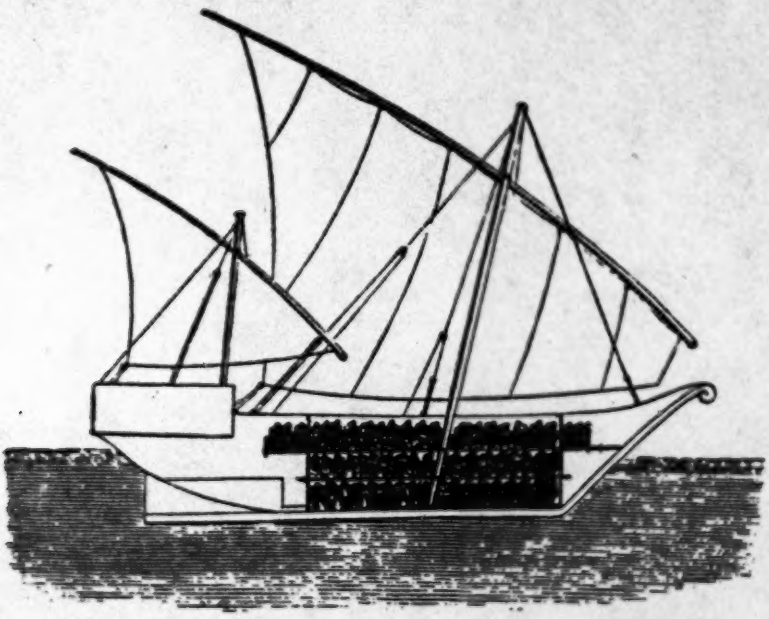

Fig. 3. Slaves packed into the hold of a small dhow, on the bottom and on two bamboo decks, with only three feet of clearance

567 Today slave-running carries such high penalties that no Arab would attempt it with a hold full of slaves on a long voyage to the Persian Gulf. However, the slave trade still operates on a reduced scale in the Red Sea between Africa and Arabia, usually utilizing fast *zarooks* and carrying only a small number of slaves. The trade is still active, mainly because both slavery and white slavery still flourish in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. These two countries signed neither of the two world conventions: the one in 1921 forbidding traffic in women and children and the one in 1933

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[24] Anonymous, 'Vessels Used in the Zanzibar Slave Trade,' *The Illustrated London News*, LXII (March, 1873), 208-209.

[25] Ibid.

4: Bowen C-5 (1950) 1951 MK2 Maritime Arabs MK2

forbidding traffic in adult women;[26] in 1948 these same two countries failed to file reports on efforts to suppress traffic in women, children, and obscene publications.[27]

Slaving is difficult to stamp out, as the African victims are led to believe that their social status will be bettered. Actually, there is some truth in this, for an African, even as a slave, has a far better life in Arabia, since the Arabs treat their slaves fairly.

British regulations at Zanzibar provide that dhows must carry crew members voluntarily signed on and not in excess of that needed to sail the ship.[28] At Mombasa, *British Regulations for Native Vessels* provides that no man may be signed on as a seaman without satisfying the officials that he has voluntarily shipped, and further that no passengers are to be shipped without the knowledge of the authorities.[29] However, Villiers[30] relates that an Omani *sambuk* intentionally ran down a fishing canoe off Africa and 'saved' two Africans to be sold later as slaves in Arabia.

In essentially the same category as the slave is any other illegal or illicit trade. During World War I gun-running was at a high, but now the trade is not very prosperous. There is considerable cargo smuggled to avoid duties; tea and other goods are run to Persia by the Arabs on the Trucial Coast of Oman—the old Pirate Coast.

The customs and immigration officials in Africa do not have much use for the Arab deepwaterman, with his Arab passengers and smuggling crew. On the other hand, the Arab takes delight in deception, and attempts to confuse the European as much as possible. No large dhow ever carries a visible name; its papers usually contain an official name, but more often the dhow is known by the name of the *nakhoda*, who is usually the nominal owner.

As soon as an Arab dhow reaches an African port, the local officials try to get a passenger and crew list; in this they never succeed, as certain of the passengers always vanish into the native anchorage as soon as the anchor is down, to return after the survey is made. This is easy, as all the native craft are herded into a separated anchorage and often new arrivals have to drive into small spaces in the middle of the anchorage.

Few carry passports or other identification, so actual identification is

[26] J. L. Carver, 'Slavery's Last Stronghold,' *United Nations World*, II, No. 5 (June, 1948), 24-27.

[27] However, in all fairness it should be pointed out that the USSR, Afghanistan, Byelorussia, Honduras, Iceland, and Norway also failed to make reports on the grounds that the problem has not arisen in their countries.

[28] A. Villiers, *55*, p. 212.

[29] Ibid., p. 190.

[30] Ibid.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK2

721 Political troubles became acute some ten years ago or more, and for many years no foreigner was allowed to land on that coast. It was a double pleasure, then, to be invited to visit that part of Arabia four years ago. It
• 567 is the one remaining nest of slavery in eastern Arabia and the district is still troublesome at times to the bearers of constituted authority, but nothing of that sort is ap-
516 parent to the visiting doctor. The rich and the poor alike are most courteous and pleasant hosts.

228 In this district the pearl-diving system is the same as
461 in Bahrein, but the men do not work nearly so hard. They set out to work later in the season, although if the temperature of the water were the only element in their decision, they might be at work sooner, for they lie farther to the south and their water warms up considerably before that near Bahrein. They return to the shore oftener and show much less energy in their work. The pearl banks in the region of the Pirate Coast are less rich than the Bahrein banks, and as might be expected, their catch is much less valuable than that of the boats farther
511 north. It is interesting to see that divers on the Pirate Coast live at about the same general level as those in Bahrein. They could not live at a much lower level, for it would mean starvation. The larger receipts in the Bahrein area have as their only result the creation of a much richer class of pearl merchants than the similar class on the Pirate Coast.

567 Unquestionably it is the slaves who have reduced the
464 standards of what a day's and a season's work ought to
461 be to its present level on the Pirate Coast. Most of these slaves are negroes from Africa. A few are Baluchs from the Makran coast between India and Persia. They do not number over one-half the divers, probably far

* [The Pirate Coast and its capital at Dibai --Analyst]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK2
Bahrain MZ2

less than that, but their attitude of listlessness and indifference has tended to pull all the rest down to their level. Just why slavery never took root in Bahrein, why the Arabs there never bought slaves to do their diving, is difficult to see. It seems such an easy way to get rich. One reason why Bahrein is a much stronger community financially now than its southern competitor is the fact that slaves have never been brought in to any large extent.

It is a great temptation, this opportunity to have one's work done by slaves, and nothing could seem to offer greater profits. The slaves have no rights. They can be punished if they show less diligence than their owner thinks adequate. They receive no wages at all, only such food and clothing as their master sees fit to give them. Arabs are not the only people that have been deceived by this fallacy. We believed it ourselves a hundred years ago. It has been a disastrous policy from every standpoint. Nothing could exceed the indifference and laziness of the average slave under such conditions. The money spent on food and clothing for these slaves brings a smaller return in service rendered than any wages paid in Arabia. Of that much any one is sure who has watched them work, or rather has watched their very successful efforts to avoid doing any work. Prostitution is commoner on that coast than in any other eastern Arabian community. Slave women are the toys of any man who buys them, and what the Pirate Coast sowed in its treatment of helpless women slaves, it is reaping in an atmosphere of degradation that envelops the entire community from the lowest to the highest.

As passive resisters these slaves are superb. I have seen one of them, disgruntled by some mistreatment or insult, simply lie down on the job and no expostulation

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK2

567 158 or threat seemed to stir him. They are exceedingly superstitious, too, and are frequently visited by a familiar spirit, who takes complete possession of the individual. The Arabs on the Pirate Coast are not especially superstitious. They are Sunni Mohammedans, and that sort of faith does not readily lend itself to superstition. However, when one of these negro slaves starts up as if suddenly crazed, and runs around shouting and gesticulating and talking earnestly in a changed voice as if a new personality had possessed him, even the hard Arab masters are a good deal awed and hesitate to inflict the punishment they had planned. These visitations may come at the most opportune times, and it takes more hardihood than the Arab usually possesses to disregard such a warning. I have had such a slave jump suddenly from the operating table when all preparations were complete and I had the knife in my hand to begin an operation for the removal of a tumor from his neck. The operation was to be done under local anesthesia, so the patient was fully conscious. We were thankful that he did not wait till ten minutes later when the operation would have been well under way. These slaves are not shamming in any ordinary sense. They thoroughly believe in the genuineness of such manifestations. They do not thus escape every whipping, but these visitations undoubtedly do protect them from a certain number of terrible punishments at the hands of their Arab masters.

565 44 In these diving communities the actual control even of the civil powers rests in the hands of the diving captains and the pearl merchants. The town of Ras el Kheima has a number of divers who regularly dive in boats the captains of which live in Dibai and Sharja. During one winter war of a small sort broke out between